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AUTHOR Shore, Bradd; Platt, Martha
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ABSTRACT

This paper considers the communicative competence of Samoan migrants and how it affects their effectiveness in working situations. English language skills, written and oral, are assessed, using fieldwork reports and 1980 census data. Traditional Samoan communication is described in order to examine Samoans' second language competence comparatively. Social dimensions of communication in Samoa; Samoan speech registers; personal naming practices and social implications; the status of English in contemporary Samoa; and non-verbal communication are outlined. An ethnography of traditional Samoan conceptions of work and divisions of labor is sketched, highlighting aspects pertinent to the American workplace. The authors find that Samoans are themselves deeply concerned about English proficiency and that limited English reading and writing proficiency of migrant Samoans combines with unfamiliarity with Western expectations and values associated with work to hamper the abililty of Samoans to write resumes, complete job applications, and succeed in interviews. Limited English competence, limited proficiency in reading and writing, conflicting values between the home and school/workplace, and unfamiliarity with Anglo ways of speaking contribute to a high rate of unemployment and underrepresentation of Samoans in white collar and supervisory positions. The paper concludes with a discussion of the consequences of limited communicative competence in the American workplace for Samoan workers. (Author/CG)

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COMMUNICATIVE BARRIERS TO SAMOANS' TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE U.S.

Bradd Shore
Department of Anthropology
Emory University

Martha Platt
Mental Retardation Research Center
University of California, Los Angeles

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The communicative competence of Samoan migrants affecst their effectiveness on the job. English language skills, written and oral, are assessed, using fieldwork reports and 1980 Census data. 'Traditional' Samoan communication is described, in order to examine Samoans' second language competence comparatively. Social dimensions of communication in Samoa; Samoan speech registers; personal naming practices and social implications; the status of English in contemporary Samoa; and non-verbal communication are outlined. An ethnography of traditional Samoan conceptions of work and division of labor is sketched, highlighting aspects pertinent to the American workplace. The authors find that Samoans are themselves deeply concerned about English proficiency and that limited English reading and writing proficiency of migrant Samoans combines with unfamiliarity with Western expectations and values associated with work to hamper the ability of Samoans to write resumes, complete job applications, and succeed in interviews. Limited English competence, limited proficiency in reading and writing, conflicting values between the home and school/workplace, and unfamiliarity with Anglo ways of speaking contribute to a high rate of unemployment and underrepresentation of Samoans in white collare and supervisory positions.

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INTRODUCTION

In considering the adaptation of Samoan migrants to the American workplace it is important to assess their communicative competence and its effects on Samoans' effectiveness on the job. This paper will examine several dimensions of Samoan communicative competence and make predictions about likely areas of communication difficulty for Samoans in the United States. We begin with an assessment of the English language skills, both oral and written, of Samoan migrants to the United States based on fieldwork reports and census data. Since no examination of second-language competence can properly be done without understanding the first-language background of the speakers, we then turn to an ethnography of communication (c.f. Hymes 1974) of "traditional" Samoan in which we will treat the following topics:

(1) Social dimensions of communication in Samoa (rank, status, seniority and social context);

(2) Samoan speech registers (pronunciation and vocabulary registers) marking status, rank and context;

(3) personal naming practices and social implications;

(4) the status of English language in contemporary Samoan communication; and

(5) non-verbal communication.

Since this paper will focus on the problems of Samoan workers in the American workplace, we include a brief section of the Samoan ethnography of work, including traditional Samoan conceptions of types of work, and division of labor, highlighting their relevance for the migrant situation. The final section of this paper will draw some general conclusions and formulate a set of predictions about the practical communicative problems faced by Samoans in the American workplace.

I

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE COMPETENCE OF THE U.S. SAMOAN POPULATION

Primary Dimensions of Language Competence

This assessment of English language competence focuses on two basic areas of knowledge. First, knowledge of the internal structure of a language, that is, the grammatical rules pertaining to the sound system (phonology), sentence structure (syntax) and meaning of words (semantics). These formal aspects of language are the areas of knowledge traditionally focused on in classrooms and language tests. Furthermore, grammatical rules are usually taught and tested without reference to a particular social situation in which language is used. It is assumed that speakers understand this aspect of a linguistic system independent of the specific contexts in which they might actually use the language, e.g., a job interview, a party, a classroom, dinner with one's family, etc. The second area of knowledge involves a speaker's understanding of the relationship between a language (its internal structure) and the social contexts in which the language is used. A competent speaker of a language must understand the socio-cultural norms or rules for the interpretation and appropriate use of language across a variety of social situations within a particular speech community (e.g., Hymes 1972). These two aspects of language competence, knowledge of grammatical rules and knowledge of how to use a language in different social contexts, must be addressed in attempting to document the communicative skills of Samoans in the U.S. and the extent to which their skills enable them to access employment and training.

English Proficiency of Immigrant Samoans

The population at large. The most recent census of a U.S. Samoan population is that conducted by the Samoan Organization of America during the summer of 1983. Samoan high school students were recruited to carry out a detailed survey of the Samoan community in Compton, California. According to this report, 95% of the Samoan community in Compton (population 10,726) can be characterized as limited or non-English speaking. The 95% Samoan dominant figure is somewhat higher than that found in earlier language dominance surveys (Laolagi 1961, Shu & Satele 1977, van Naerssen 1979). This could be due not only to differences in data collection procedures, but also to differences between the populations under study. For example, Laolagi found in a study of 40 Samoan families in San Francisco that 65% spoke primarily Samoan in the home with some English, while 32.5% spoke English primarily or exclusively. The somewhat greater proficiency in English reflected by these data could be due to the backgrounds of individuals in this particular population. Myers (1978) in a study of linguistic acculturation in the San Francisco Samoan community, reports that this group is "small, enjoys nearly 100% literacy and has experienced dramatic media developments in the past

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two decades" (p. 396). These characteristics might enhance the English proficiency of this particular Samoan community. On the other hand, the Samoan community in Compton is part of the largest settlement of Samoans on the mainland. Furthermore, many Samoans residing in Compton came from Western Samoa as part of a Mormon Church-sponsored migration. These individuals have had different experiences in employment and education from those Samoans who migrated from American Samoa, hence, they may not yet have attained the same level of proficiency in English (Seni Tufele, personal communication). This hypothesis is supported by data in a study of Samoan families in Hawaii (bloombaum 1973). When parents of school-aged children were asked to rate their English-speaking ability as "poor," "average," or "good," those who rated themselves higher tended to come from urban settings and to have more education (p. 60).

In their survey of 410 Samoan households in the South Bay area of Los Angeles County, Shu and Satele (1977) also found that although 92% of respondents claimed they could speak English, 43% said they would consider utilizing a Samoan interpreter to help explain their medical problems to a doctor. From these data and the approximately 85% who regarded Samoan as their primary language, Shu and Satele conclude that approximately one half of the Samoan population studied suffer to some extent from language barriers.

These smaller scale surveys may be compared with data from the 1980 U.S. Census (as yet unpublished). 1980 was the first year in which the Samoan population was designated as a separate ethnic group, rather than part of the undifferentiated "Asian and Pacific Islander" category which was used prior to 1980.

Portions of these data on Samoans in the U.S. suggest that Samoans whose English language ability is limited are more likely to experience periods of unemployment than those persons with greater English-speaking ability. Specifically, for the 25-44 year age range, those individuals who claimed to speak English "not well" or "not at all" had a higher mean number of weeks of unemployment in 1979 than did those in the same age range who claimed to speak English "very well" or "well" (Table 78, Bureau of the Census 1984). (For the 18-24 year age range, there appears to be no correlation between ability to speak English "not well" or "not at all" constituted a smaller percentage of the labor force than those who claimed to speak English "very well" or "well" (Table 74, Bureau of the Census 1984).

It should be noted, however, that the U.S. Census data differs from the smaller-scale surveys in terms of the ratings individuals gave for their English-speaking ability. For example, while most respondents in the U.S. Census Report claimed to speak English "very well" or "well," the 1983 Compton, California survey indicated that 95% of the Samoan community in Compton is limited- or non-English-speaking, and the 1977 Shu and Satele survey concluded that about one half of the Samoan population in the South Bay area of Los Angeles County were hampered in their access to employment and services by language barriers. One possible explanation for this discrepancy in findings stems from the method by which data was collected. On the one hand, the U.S. Census is completed by mail without assistance, or, if necessary, with the help of government employees who are not members of the Samoan community. On the other hand, the smaller

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surveys were conducted by members of the Samoan community itself. It is quite possible that respondents were more likely to acknowledge language problems when interviewed by members of their own community, rather than by outsiders.

It is also important to mention that the language ability question included in the 1980 U.S. Census questionnaire specifically excludes Samoans by educators, namely, reading and writing. As discussed below, Samoan students tend to have greater speaking skills in English compared to reading and writing. By gathering data on speaking ability only, it is not possible to determine the extent to which limited reading and writing ability in English is correlated with limited access to services, employment and training among the Samoan population.

Finally, it should be noted that the information on English language competence that can be gleaned from census reports and other surveys is that pertaining to respondents' grammatical knowledge of English (the first area of knowledge described above). Individuals are asked what language they use most often and to rate their fluency in English. This information sheds light on the extent to which Samoans in the U.S. are able to use English in accordance with grammatical rules. These data do not, however, necessarily reflect Samoans' understanding of the socio-cultural rules for the interpretation and use of English in various social settings (the second area of knowledge described above).

Students. Interviews with teachers and counselors in the Southern California area and a report issued by the Seattle School District (LAU Final Report 1977) indicate that Samoan students possess greater oral skills in English compared to reading and writing. (Veatch (1978) reports that college students in American Samoa had greatest difficulty with the tense and number systems.) One reason for this tendency to excel in speaking is the value placed on oratory as well as on more informal oral communication skills within traditional Samoan culture (Los Angeles Unified School District, K.E.Y.S. Project, 1978; Ochs 1982; Duranti 1981a (Duranti and Ochs in press, Sections I.1., I.3 above)). The effect which this value has on Samoan students is evidenced, for example, in the fact that there is always a Samoan among those students selected to give speeches at Carson High School graduation ceremonies (Kendrick, personal communication). This achievement is recognized and applauded by parents and the local Samoan community in a way that accomplishments in reading and writing are not. This de-emphasis on reading and writing was observed as well by Myers (1978) during fieldwork with the Samoan population in San Francisco. Myers reports that . . . reading of English is limited. In almost all cases the Samoan homes visited for this study had a telephone directory and children's school texts but no other books, and no newspapers or magazines (p. 396). Thus, the value system commonly operating within migrant Samoan families, in which reading and writing are de-demphasized, conflicts with that operating in school settings, where reading and writing are the primary skills to evaluate academic performance.

It should be noted, however, that Samoan children traditionally receive instruction in reading and writing in Samoan when they begin to attend the pastor's school, usually around the age of three. A study of literacy instruction in a pastor's school in a Western Samoan village (Durante & Ochs, in press) documents how Samoan children are taught Western values in the context of bible reading lessons conducted by the pastor, his wife and assistants. In acquiring literacy skills, rural Samoans acquire not only the ability to read and write fluently,

but also exposure to the Western values on which their urban cash economy is based. Specifically, children are exposed to the Western value placed on individual accomplishment and the praise which often accompanies it. As Duranti and Ochs point out, exposure to Western values through literacy instruction aids rural Samoans in securing employment within the urban cash economy, since salaried employment is based on the notion of individual accomplishment.

In developing programs to facilitate the reading and writing skills of Samoans in the U.S., it might be productive to build on the methods of literacy instruction implemented in the pastor's school. Reading and writing courses for adults as well as school-aged children could be built around the Bible-teaching curriculum used by Samoan ministers with their immigrant congregations. (Van Naerssen (1979) reports on the piloting of a similar program in American Samoa.) Another highly successful approach to the teaching of reading and writing for young adults in American Samoa is described by Veatch (1978). This program of English as a Second Language was for incoming students at the college level. It used the love of family, the pride in the 'aiga, the respect of self as a Samoan to promote the development of the English language in these students (p. 1). The curriculum, based on individualized reading, creative writing and spontaneous oral activities, eliminated all materials designed to teach grammar explicitly. Students' reading and writing as well as oral skills were enhanced dramatically.

Problematic aspects of test results. There are several factors which call into question the results of language testing with school-aged children. First, the test situation may not reveal the young Samoan child's true oral skills in English given the fact that adult-child verbal interaction at an early age is not a major facet of child-rearing in Samoan households (Ochs 1982). Although young children are extremely skilled at oratory and other forms of oral memory work through their involvement in church activities, they are not as familiar with Western expectations that children be able to express themselves spontaneously in adult-child interaction (Los Angeles Unified School District, K.E.Y.S. Project, 1978).

Second, as reported in Van Naerssen (1979):

> Both the Office of Samoan Affairs, Inc. and several teachers who have administered the test to determine English language ability feel that these results for Samoans do not accurately reflect the language situation for Samoan school-aged children. It is felt that probably many Samoan children are not identified properly as Samoan by teachers who are not sensitive to Samoans as an ethnic group . . . (p. 19).

It is unclear to what extent inaccurate ethnic identification of Samoan students currently affects language testing results.

Third, among older children and adolescents, a different set of values and attitudes from those of school officials may affect the performance of Samoan students in a classroom or test situation. As discussed in the Los Angeles Unified School District, K.E.Y.S. Project on Samoans (1978): "In the junior and

senior high, tne Samoan concepts of ma (shame) and fia poto (show off) are very real. Especially to a newly-arrived Samoan, the idea of being shamed for an incorrect answer or poor English is a reality. The change of ma felt here would not be worth the chance of a correct answer. Also, a correct answer might label the same child fia poto (p. 12). These traditional values which Samoan students bring to the school setting are in direct conflict with the expectations of teachers. The academic performance of Samoan students, particularly in test situations, should be evaluated with these conflicting values in mind.

The academic performance of Samoan students is also affected by the limited English competence, in particular weak or non-existent literacy skills, of parents (Seui 1983). Parents whose English skills are marginal may show

> a reluctance to participate in teacher-student activities due to communication problems, unfamiliarity with the educational system resulting in non-understanding of grade letters, when report cards are due and what they mean, inability to help children with their homework or any questions they might have and so on (p. 9).

Although these observations were made with respect to the Samoan population in Hawaii, in particular those families from the lower income levels, they seem relevant to the situation of many Samoans on the mainland as well.

Establishing Language Dominance for Samoan Students

These aspects of the Samoan student's experience in a Western school setting point to the complexity involved in establishing language dominance for the Samoan community (Kendrick, personal communication). Myers (1978) observes that in the San Francisco community ". . . Samoan children speak English in school; Samoans speak English every day while shopping; but after school the children favor only Samoan with relatives and friends. . ." (p. 396). Kotcnek (1977) reports that many Samoan children currently or soon to be in school in the Seattle area "have problems with English as a second language" (p. 36). Because of the Samoan norms for speaking which limit the spontaneous verbal expression of children in the presence of adults, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which school-aged Samoan children actively use Samoan in the home. The Samoan language competence of students will also vary considerably depending upon the family's individual history, e.g., whether they are from American or Western Samoa, whether the family moved to the mainland through an affiliation with the military or as part of a church-sponsored migration, the level of education of parents, how long they have been in the U.S., etc. In general, those individuals who have migrated to the mainland from American Samoa through military service have had somewhat greater exposure to English than their Western Samoan counterparts, particularly those whose migration was achieved through church-related institutions. Although Samoan children may use English in school, with both teachers and peers, they most likely do so in accordance with Samoan rather than Western norms for speaking. Seui (1983) notes that certain aspects of Samoan speech behavior, such as special language "registers" or styles, conversational turn-taking and use of body language are areas of communicative

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competence in Samoan versus English that need to be addressed. He illustrates a subtle but important difference in Samoan versus Anglo ways of speaking that can have a major effect on the way an Anglo perceives the conversation. In answer to a question, a Samoan often raises his eyebrows. His teacher often repeats the question, indicating non-understanding of his pupil's communication. The raised eyebrows meant "yes" (page 15-16). This type of communicative misunderstanding can affect not only teacher-student interaction, but also teacher-parent, interviewer-interviewee and employer-employee verbal communication. Thus, in assessing the language dominance of members of the U.S. Samoan community, it should be remembered that a certain proficiency in speaking English in accordance with grammatical rules does not necessarily imply an understanding of differences between Samoan and Anglo ways of speaking.

Recording of Test Data by State Agencies

In California, city, county and state agencies continue to analyze English proficiency data in terms of the pre-1980 census category "Asian and Pacific Islanders". This represents a continuation of the state of affairs reported in Van Naerssen (1979):

> Information by language, by school district must be obtained from each school district as the State's report does not at this time report such break-downs in a printed form (p. 19).

This practice masks those language patterns specific to the Samoan immigrant community, making it more difficult for this group to have its particular needs addressed at the state level. It is especially problematic given the good performance of many Asian students in academic/test situations (see our example, Seattle School District, LAU Final Report, 1977). One obvious suggestion to come out of the present review is that city, county and state educational agencies reorganize and reanalyze student data to reflect the 1980 census categories for ethnic background and that local schools be required to collect their data in keeping with these more focused categories.

We have seen how considerations of language-related problems of Samoan migrants in the United States have been hampered by (a) insufficient data collection; (b) insufficient specificity in targeting Samoans as a distinctive group for data collection; (c) a failure to consider specific language problems in their encompassing cultural context as matters of cross-cultural communication more generally. To contribute to remedying this situation we address directly points b and c in the next part of this paper by placing Samoan language problems within their broader context of Samoan communication.

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II

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION OF "TRADITIONAL" SAMOA

Social Dimensions of Communication in Samoa

Of all traditional expressive arts, none is so highly developed in the Samoan archipelago as is language and related forms of communication. This stress is consonant with the elaboration of political institutions in the Samoan islands and the complex system of rank involved in the Samoan polity. For Samoans the acquisition of linguistic skills is a clear mark of rank and political sophistication, and an important index of "civilized" status. Samoan parents seem to assume that language acquisition of children will follow naturally upon maturity and the development of discriminative judgment (mafaufau). They rarely consciously teach language to infants, nor is there much expansion of child language as is commonly the case for middle-class American parents (Ochs 1982). Samoan children are expected to learn language much as they learn other skills: by direct observation of models and imitation of their seniors. The fact that much communication between parents and children is triadic (Ochs and Scheiffelin 1982) with messages between parents and the very young mediated by youthful caretakers, usually siblings, raises the interesting question of the quality of the adult model that the young children are exposed to. Levy (1973) has suggested a similar pattern of childrearing among Tahitians, such that children are presented by older caretakers with juvenile versions of adult models. The effect of this pattern on Samoan language is only now being explored (Ochs and Scheiffelin 1982).

One possible effect of these patterns of language acquisition is to encourage dependency in communication rather than autonomy that is the hallmark of American middle class aspirations for children. Such maintenance of a structure of dependency is consistent with the Samoan emphasis on rank and age-seniority (Mead 1928, 1930; Goldman 1970; Keesing & Keesing 1956; Ochs & Scheiffelin 1982; Shore 1977, 1981, 1982). Communication for Samoans is structured along the dimensions of status, rank, and social context (viz., Shore 1982, pp. 196-197).

Status. We use this term here in a restricted sense of a social role or position in a system of such positions that is qualitatively distinct (Linton 1936). For instance, in an airplane the pilot, first-officer and flight attendant are each distinct statuses, as is the passenger. These statuses are all linked in a common social framework. Based on a division of labor, these statuses are all complementary. While a universal concept in social analysis, status is important for Samoa because of the elaboration in traditional Samoan social organization of linked pairs of statuses. These are treated at length in Shore 1982 (see especially Chapter II and Appendix B). Among the most important of such linked statuses are brother-sister (tuagane-tuafafine), chief-commoner (tamāli'i-tūfanua), chief-orator (ali'i-tulāfale) and descendants of a brother-descendants of a sister (tamatane-tamafafine). What is of general importance in these linked statuses is the overarching symbolic distinction embodied by each of them, a

distinction that is the core of a Samoan world view (Shore n.d., 1982). In each of these pairings one member represents what Shore has termed a formal member (sisters, chiefs, sisters' line) while the complementary member represents an intimate member (brothers, commoners, brothers' line). Formal statuses embody what Samoans call mamalu, a kind of passive dignity indicative of the possession of mana or sacred power. These statuses derive from images of inactivity, immobility and refinement, what Indonesians call halus behavior. They represent the epitome of Samoan aganu'u or "culture" and carry with them the power of continuity of that which is most noble and moral in Samoan life (see Wendt 1983 for a Samoan's rendering of this concept). Such dignity is understood as an achievement, the containment of cruder, more mobile impulses. Samoan siva dancing in which the most dignified persons present grace the center of the dance floor with sublime form and barely mobile elegance represents a vivid example of Samoan mamalu. Complementing these dignified statuses are their opposites, those we have termed "Intiminate

Complementing these dignified statuses are their opposites, those we have termed "intimate." Statuses like brother, commoner and orator exemplify for Samoans a crude and essential aspect of life: dynamic, aggressive, expansive and, by itself, destructive. In terms of formal political ideology, intimate statuses embody pule, a secularly administrative potency to carry out sacred will into the field of action. Panoff (1964) has characterized the status of orator (in relation to that of the ali'i) as expansive and inherently economic in nature. Such statuses embody the strong (mālosi) and darker side of Samoan ethos that has recently been highlighted by Freeman (1983). Yet they are as much a part of the Samoan order of things as are their more refined complements and represent a strong aspect of life of which Samoans are fond and proud. In general, we can understand these linked pairs as embodying the relation of form to activity, social structure to history, sacred to secular powers, and "culture" in its refined sense to human nature in its crude sense (but see Freeman 1984 and Shore 1984).

Rank. Though linked in important ways with the concept of status, Samoan concepts of rank should nonetheless be kept distinct. While status links social roles that are qualitatively distinct, rank relations exist between graded units of the same type but of a different degree. Orators and chiefs differ in status. But where their statuses are irrelevant, and they are viewed as matai (titled persons) they may be graded by rank. One orator may be said to enjoy a higher rank than another, but as such an orator is not rankable against an ali'i, nor is a brother in relation to his sister.

While rank is an everpresent concern of Samoans, it is important to stress that ranking of people, families or titles is intrinsically ambiguous and unstable in the Samoan polity. While Samoans will agree that rank is a critical factor in social relations, it is harder to get agreement on a particular ranking. This ambiguity stems from (a) the multiplicity and ultimate indeterminacy of ranking criteria; (b) the Polynesian conception of power (mana) which evaluates power through its efficacy in the world, and hence is open to manipulation, decay, enlargement and other forms of mobility (see Firth 1940, Keesing, n.d., Shore 1982); and (c) the relative openness of Samoan politics to achievement rather than to ascription of status (Goldman 1970, pp. 248-50). Chiefs are selected by descent group members on the basis of a number of criteria including direct descent from a former holder (nofo soso'o), ability (agava'a), previous

service to the former title-holder and the descent group (tautua), or alternative tenure between competing branches of a descent group. While consensus about rank is evident in regard to the very highest and lowest ranking titles and families, it is in the very large middle area of rank that the greatest ambiguity and opportunity for mobility are apparent. Such ambiguity, together with an ideology stressing rank distinctions, make for a politically mobile and volatile society and underscores the importance of subtle features of elite discouse in the negotiation and expression of relative rank (Keesing & Kessing 1956).

Context. Mead (1968) was the first to note the importance of situation or social context rather than "personality" factors in predicting behavior in Samoa:

> Whereas in a different kind of society, it would be possible to predict what a given individual, A, will do as compared with a given individual. B, in Samoa it is much more possible to predict what a series of men, A, B, and C will do in a given situation. (p. 257)

Shore (1977, 1982) has developed this early insight of Mead's into an account of Samoan social control that stresses the categorization of social context as a prime motivational factor in Samoan behavior. While social psychologists such as Mischel (1968) and sociologists like Goffman have stressed the critical importance of contextual factors in shaping all human response, it would seem that a context-sensitive theory of social action is especially apt in cultures which do not stress the person as a locus of activity, but rather emphasize situational factors as the natural source of human motivation. Whereas Western indigenous psychologies are predicated upon the primacy of the person as a moral unit (Dumont 1970; Trill 1971), Polynesian cultures articulate no clear concept equivalent to "the individual" or "personality," stressing instead the primacy of social relations and social setting (Smith 1981; Levy 1970; Shore 1982).

In Samoan thought, the person is a construct embedded in and defined through encompassing relationships. Shore (1982) illustrates this Samoan version of G. H. Mead's "social self" (Mead 1934) by quoting an informant's description of his relationship to another man, a politically prominent chief who holds several titles: "Tofilau Eti is a cousin of mine. One of his sides is the Tofilau [title], but another one of his sides (the Va'aelua title) is me." (p. 137)

Linguistically, this relational emphasis is manifest a number of ways. Samoan plural pronouns (we, you, they) are employed in a way quite foreign to English logic. Whereas English speakers atomize social relationships by subordinating social groups to their constituent members, Samoan pronomial usage embeds the individual within the group. Compare the following:

1. My friend and I are going to the store (or I am going with my friend to the store).

   1a. Mā te ō ma la'u uō 'i le fale'oloa.
   We-2-exclusive go (and my friend) to the store.

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2. May I please have a cigarette?

2a. Fa'amolemole, 'aumai se tā sikaleti.
Please give one of our cigarettes.

Not only does the Samoan speaker have to indicate for the first-person plural pronouns whether the hearer is included (incl.) in the "we-cluster" or excluded (excl.), but the cluster is presented as semantically primary, and buries the embedded individuals. Learning to speak Samoan involves for English speakers a fundamental revaluation of the relation between individuals and groups.

To understand the implicit model that Samoans use in classifying social contexts, it is helpful to examine a number of speech registers in Samoan that explicitly mark distinct social contexts. We will consider (a) phonological registers and (b) lexical registers and suggest several syntactic features that seem to covary with them.

Phonological (Pronunciation) Registers of Spoken Samoan

It seems that when the first Christian missionaries arrived in Samoa in 1830, Samoan speech was undergoing a phonological shift in which the phonemes [t] and [n] undersent parallel shifts in articulation from dental or alveolar sounds to velar. Thus in the new form of pronunciation, the phoneme [t] was pronounced /k/, while [n] was realized as /ng/. This shift is indicated below in the two tables represented the two systems of Samoan phones (Shore 1982).

Table 1

FORMAL AND INTIMATE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS IN SAMOAN

	Consonental Phonemes	*Vocalic Phonemes*
Formal pronunciation	p t (k) ? s (h) f v m n ng (r) l	i u ī ū e o ē ō a ā
Intimate pronunciation	p k ? s (h) f v m ng (r) l	i u ī ū e o ē ō a ā

( ) indicates in loan-words only.

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Since the missionaries elected to orthographize Samoan using the older ("purer") /t/ and /n/ forms rather than the newer ("decadent") /k/ and /ng/, they effectively froze the older form of the language while permitting the newer pronunciation style to evolve its own set of social contexts.

Today, Samoans have two coherent and acceptable pronunciation styles or registers. The "t" form is often called tautala lelei (good speaking), while the more colloquial "k" form is termed tautala leaga (bad speaking). While these registers seem to form a neat binary set, limiting options for pronunciation of Samoan to one set or the other, a close analysis of Samoan pronunciation reveals that there is actually a gradient of pronunciation styles ranging from the almost gutteral and heavy "k" of young men in intimate contexts, through progressively frontal and lighter articulations of /k/ and /ng/, to a range of "good speaking" styles which culminate in the almost effete delicacy of "school-marm" Samoan associated with elementary school teachers, and girls of Papuata school (a kind of finishing school associated with the Congregational Church of Apia). In this most delicate pronunciation register, /t/ and /n/ are pronounced with the tongue thrust forward between the teeth, and the vowel qualities appropriately lightened.

Milner (1966), in his Samoan Dictionary refers to these two pronunciation styles as formal and colloquial pronunciation (p. xiv). In the 1970's, a linguist, Keith Kernan, studied how children in American Samoa acquired these registers. Kernan suggested that acquisition by children of competence in these two registers falls into three stages:

Stage I: (2.2-3.3 years) Comprehension: both registers; spontaneous production: limited to one register, usually "t."

Stage II: (3.6-4.2 years) Spontaneous speech: limited to "k"; imitative competence: both registers, with some mistakes due to over-generalization of the /k/-/ng/ register.

Stage III: (3.1-5.1 years) Spontaneous speaking: "k" register; imitation tasks: both registers with more errors than in Stage II, with a tendency to "correct" the linguist's "k" forms to "t" rather than correctly imitating the "bad" speaking."

For more discussion on these stages see Kernan 1974, Ochs, in press, Shore 1977, 1982. What is striking in this sequencing is the initial success of Stage II children in imitating both "t" and "k"--suggesting their focusing on the phonic content of the speech. In Stage III, however, we suspect that there was contextual interference as children were asked to imitate a colloquial form in what would be classed as a formal context (an interview with a Palagi researcher). Since the latter context requires "good speaking" rather than the "k" the children were asked to pronounce, the children may well have selected the social context over the phonic content at this more advanced stage of speech. Thus what may seem to be a regression in speech ability is probably an index of growing awareness of social context in discourse.

This hypothesis is supported by more recent observations by Ochs. She concludes:

> . . . every child is our study had some competence in tautala lelei and tautala leaga phonological systems. This competence was observed from the single world stage on. At the earliest stage observed, (late single word, 19 months), the alternation between /t/ and /k/ appeared to be phonologically rather than socially conditioned. (Ochs in press: 45, emphasis in original)
>
> By 2 1/2 years, all the children of this age in our study were able to use both tautala lelei and tautala leaga in socially appropriate contexts to a limited extent. The phonologically conditioned use of /t/ and /k/, /n/ and /ng/ was superceded by socially conditioned use of these phonological variants. (Ibid. :47)

Ochs detailed a variety of typical errors in proper use of these two registers by both adult caretakers and young children. She points to three general classes of error: (a) underuse of /t/ and /n/; (b) overgeneralization of /t/ and /n/ to exceptions (mainly foreign loan words) where /k/ and /ng/ would be appropriate even in "good speaking" and (c) the overgeneralization of /t/ and /n/ to other environments, such as using /n/ instead of /t/. This third kind of error was noted only among children.

While Och's interesting analysis is beyond the concerns of this paper, it is interesting to note that her examples of class (a) errors, where /k/ and /ng/ are used incorrectly where /t/ and /n/ would be expected strongly suggest the kind of context-coding these children may have been using. For instance, Ochs cites several examples of mixed /k/ and /t/ usage where an object ta'avale (car) was pronounced with the /t/ register, while the possessive pronouns matou and 'outou were rendered in the /k/ as makou and 'oukou. While this is admittedly slim evidence to go on, it is possible that pronouns were understood by children as inherently more familiar and intimate than the external object "car," making the shift from "t" to "k" appropriate if technically wrong.

The registers identified by /t/ and /k/ suggest a classification of contexts along a formal-intimate continuum, with European speakers and European-based institutions at the extreme end of the pole defining "formal" intercourse, while Samoan-Samoan communication defines the intimate extreme of the continuum. Formal register (/t/ and /n/) is virtually obligatory in discourse associated with (a) the church, (b) government, (c) schools, (d) interactions with Samoan-speaking Palagis (Europeans/Americans) and in most situations requiring delicacy, tact and caution, especially with "strangers." Intimate pronunciation, on the other hand, is associated with more familiar contexts, relations of a I-thou sort, a closeness to self and a lack of constraint or self-control. /K/ pronunciation is a kind of linguistic "home-base" for most Samoans. It is at once cruder in feel than the formal "t" forms and also warmer and more homey. Shore cites comments from informants suggesting some of their associations with the two kinds of speech:

> Say if you meet a new person whom you don't know, you try to use the "t." If you are very well acquainted with someone, then you use the "k." If you go home and see that

there is a stranger there, you use the "t." If the words you say are heavy ones, then usually you will speak in the "k." If you use the "t" when you are mad, it is as if you are speaking with weak words. When you are angry, you turn to the "k." But if you want to show respect to a person, then that's the time when you must use the "t."

In Samoan custom, it is respectful to speak in the "k." But in reference to Christianity, you know good behavior when somebody speaks in the "t." In Samoan custom, respectful behavior is the "k." But otherwise, good behavior [amio lelei] means that you speak in the "t."

If someone speaks to you in the "t," it is nice and light. But if someone comes and speaks to you in the "k" it is as if they are angry with you.

. . . "You know a halfcaste, because he always speaks the "k." (Shore 1982: 272-3)

It is interesting to note that the semantic dimensions of insider/outsider that are implied by the two pronunciation styles are replicated in Samoan language by both the distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms of "we" and by certain Samoan noun classes. These noun classes, usually referred to as a-class and o-class nouns, distinguish between objects intimately related to a speaker in a kind of I-thou relationship (o-class) and objects that are more distant and objectlike in relation to the speaker. These noun classes are manifested only in relation to possession (possessive pronouns or the possessive preposition "of" which may take the form of o or a depending upon the noun. Thus la'u tusi (my book), lana ta'avale (his/her car) la latou fale (their play or toy house) but lo'u manatu (my notion), lona igoa (his/her name) and lo latou fale (their house).

Lexical (Vocabulary Registers: Chiefly Language

In addition to the pronunciation differences discussed in the preceding section, Samoan speech is stratified by features of vocabulary and idiom usage. While Samoan is sometimes held to have a chiefly "language," Samoans recognize this as an overstatement. They refer simply to "respectful words" (upu fa'aaloalo) rather than to any separate language. An early account of this polite form of discourse was by Newell (1892) who wrote of "an arbitrary dialect of courtesy and respect, differing in some respects from the common and fundamental language of the people. . . ." (p. 784). This dialect, as he called it, is in fact a set of "courtesy" words and phrases used in place of their more common equivalents along with subtle variations in syntax and word order. An account of this courtesy language is contained in Duranti (1981a, 1981b and in Shore 1982). We reproduce here a table from Shore 1982, showing extensive examples of "chiefly" vocabularly in Samoan, along with their mundane alternatives:

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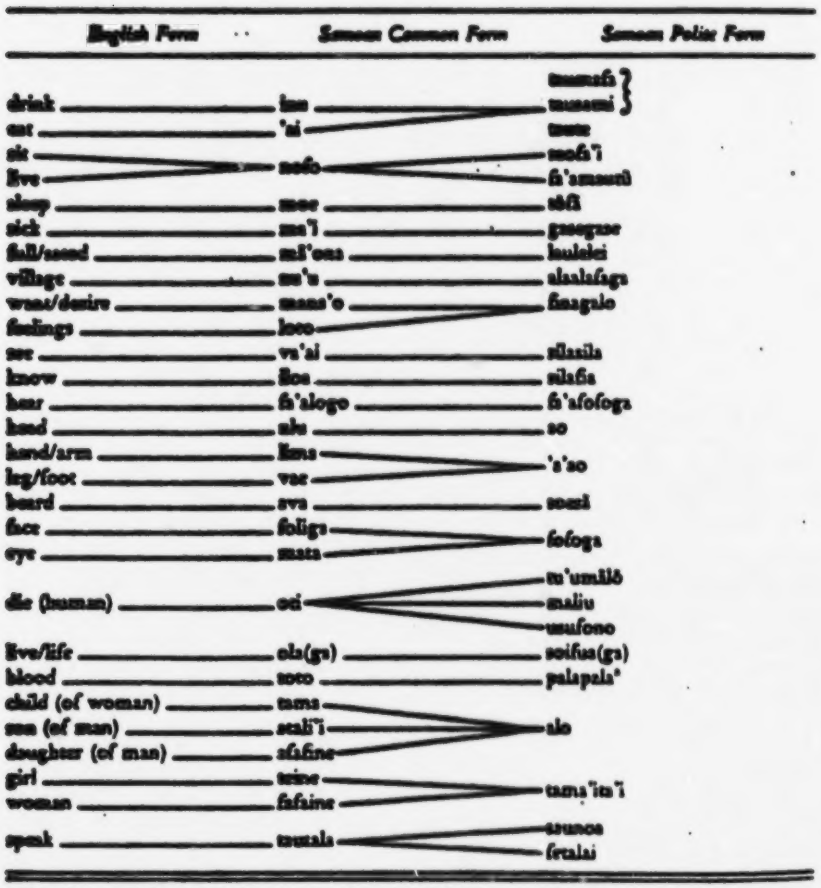
Table 2

COMMON AND POLITE FORMS IN THE SAMOAN LEXICON



* *Palapala* is used for blood only in cases where blood flows uncontrolled from the body. In common usage, *palapala* means "dirt."

In a number of cases, the distinctions are more refined, making possible address specifically for alii'i as opped to tulāfale. The table below provides examples of such specialized vocabulary items. It is taken from Shore 1982.

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Table 3

SPECIAL POLITE FORMS FOR ALI'I AND TULĀFALE STATUSES

English Term	*Common Term*	*Ali'i Term*	*Tulāfale Term*	*General Respect*
ocean	sea	lālo mai / susū mai	malie mai / ssoepo mai	susū mai*
sir	(none)	lāega	tāfā	susuga
house	fale	maota	loea	maota
wife	ʻavā	faletua	tausi	faletua
wisdom/judgement	mālfaufau	uuga	moo/tāfā	(none)
speech	lāuga	malelega	fetalaiga	susuega

* Malietoa, a paramount chiefly title, and titles related to the Malietoa descent group, are addressed conventionally as *susuga* rather than *ifoga*. According to Samoan history, Malietoa Vāinuʻupō, the first Samoan Christian convert, gave the right to be called *ifoga* to the Christian God in deference to a power greater than his own.

An inspection of common terms and their polite equivalents suggests some general semantic considerations that are involved in the chiefly forms:

(a) Polite words are frequently longer than their common equivalents.

(b) Polite terms are sometimes semantically more general and encompassing than their common forms. For instance, lima (arm/hand) and vae (leg/foot) are merged in polite discourse into ʻaʻao (limb); afafine (daughter, man speaking), atalii (son, man speaking) and tama (tane/teine) (child (boy/girl) woman speaking) are collapsed into the polite alo in polite discourse. Other examples of this semantic generalization in polite reference are included in the table of common and polite forms presented above.

(c) Polite terms sometimes employ metaphor or otherwise indirect forms of reference. This is humorously illustrated by the polite term for male genital which in common (though impolite) usage is poti, but in its "chiefly" form becomes aualuma a term ordinarily referring to the girls' village organization. The polite tuʻumalo (to die) literally means to "leave the government."

Each of these general semantic features of polite discourse suggests an important Samoan cultural association with high rank. (a) Chiefly phenomana are understood to be larger and more physically imposing than non-chiefly. (b) The Chiefly encompasses the common, as parents encompass their children (Dumont 1970) and is thus more general than the common. (c) Chiefly entities are tapu or sā taputapu (sacred/dangerous/powerful) and are approached indirectly and with circumspection.

Chiefly discourse operates on a continuum ranging from relatively simple use of chiefly words to the elaborate arcane discourse of failāuga. (orators

charged with addressing chiefly gatherings]. These more elaborate orations are the province of Samoan specialists, and non-specialists are not expected to either comprehend or produce such language. Yet most adult Samoans are quick to recognize when they are in the presence of such oratory, and can gauge the degree of formality in the occasion by the level of formality that has inflated discourse. Duranti [1981a, 1981b] has provided the most thorough-going analysis of the Samoan fono (chiefly gathering) as a distinctive speech event.

It is possible to isolate several general principles that underlie to social uses of this polite register of Samoan.

1. Polite forms are employed in relation to others, and not to onesself, except when one is referring to one's title or position rather than one's own person.

2. It is polite to use either common terms or self-effacing terms in relation to onesself. Others may be elevated either positively through polite address or negatively through self-abasement. For example, there is the following triad of terms all referring to sickness: gasegase (elevated), ma'i (neutral) and gaogao (degraded) making possible a gradient of ranked relations through speech.

3. Normally, chiefly address is used by rank inferiors to rank superiors. It is possible, however, to indicate one's own good breeding by the deliberate use of polite forms to status equals or inferiors, as a kind of exemplary use of polite address.

4. Chiefly speech conveys on the person addressed or referred to; it also conveys reflected respect on the speaker as a person of good upbringing.

5. Despite the term "chiefly" in reference to polite address, its use is not restricted to discourse from or among political elites. Chiefs set the standard or ideal for all behavior, and thus polite discourse is proper for anyone in the appropriate context. In this sense polite speech marks social context rather than a distinct class of persons. This is different from the Tongan case, where a distinct register of address is reserved for interactions with the royal family. In Samoa, it is possible to address a chief with non-polite terms in an intimate context where the chiefly title is not relevant. Likewise, one may address a non-elite person with chiefly terms in situations requiring dignity and solemnity. Chiefly discourse is used often in potentially volatile social encounters where the undercurrents of hostility are masked or linguistically smoothed over by linguistic forms deemed incompatible with impulsive behavior.

6. Particularly at the more arcane levels of chiefly speech, communication of content may be deliberately subordinated to communication of rank and personal prestige. Information about the "world" is compromised in the interest of information about social relations. This important feature of chiefly discourse makes it especially hard to convince Samoan students of English that clarity and precision of reference are to be favored over form and stylistic embellishment.

Phonological and Lexical Registers Compared

Both kinds of speech stratification, the phonological comprising /t/ and /k/ registers, and the lexical comprising polite and common vocabulary, mark a distinction between formal and intimate social contexts. Yet it has not generally been recognized that these two dimensions of language stratification do not parallel each other, but rather cross-cut and suggest a subtle but very important distinction in the way Samoans classify social contexts. Let us examine several contrasts between the uses of the phonological and lexical registers.

(a) The phonological registers are binary (dualistic) in structure, despite the subtle grading in pronunciation they make possible. This formal quality of the registers is consistent with the fact that they encode a binary distinction between two social statuses Samoan/Pālagi (European) and the institutions each status represents in the modern society of Samoa. By contrast, one cannot simply divide the polite/common registers into neat categories. Polite discourse suggests a continuum or gradient of formality ranging from the crude to the elegant and arcane. Appropriately, these lexical registers encode relations of rank which are not binary, but rather graded and continuous.

(b) The ideal referents of address in the "t" form of pronunciation are Pastors (associated with the church) or Europeans (or Samoans in Europeanized settings). The ideal referent of polite discourse is the matai or chief, and the ideal context of polite discourse is the fono (chiefly meeting).

(c) The formality of the phonological registers moves away from experiences classified as traditionally Samoan, towards things understood as associated with the world shaped by European influences. The formality of the lexical registers moves toward that which is understood as traditionally Samoan.

(d) The use of English language in Samoan discourse finds its place as the most extreme form of formality as expressed through the phonological registers. Thus, in modern Samoan, the distinction: /k/ (bad talking) - /t/ (good talking) may be realized in certain situations as /k/--/t/--English or as /k/--English. In the last example, English has replaced the /t/ form as the alternative for /k/.

This formulation makes sense of an otherwise baffling observation. The "Samoan" /k/ register is associated with and in fact commonly exclusively used by Samoan afakasi (halfcastes: part Samoan), whose first or home language is English. Many Samoans claim that such halfcastes do not control the /t/ register at all, or are loath to use it. Two explanations are possible. Both may be correct. Halfcastes may deliberately compensate for their compromised Samoan status in this ethnocentric community by publicly displaying their /k/ speech as a mark of intimate solidarity with Samoans. It is also possible that English has replaced the /t/ register for these speakers resulting in the following transformation:

Full Samoan: /k/ vs. /t/

Halfcaste: /k/ vs. English

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While we have used the terms "formal" and "intimate" to characterize the context distinctions marked by both chiefly discourse and pronounciation styles, it is useful now to separate these distinctions, since they are apparently quite different from one another. We find it useful to employ the distinction between relations marked by power and those marked by solidarity as originally pointed out by Brown and Gilman (1960) in relation to changing uses of Indo-European pronouns. Phonological registers (/t/ and /k/) encode relations distinguishing degrees of social solidarity. Lexical registers (chiefly vs common terms) encode relations defined along a continuum of power or authority. Whereas, according to Brown and Gilman (1960), Indo-European languages seem to have undergone an historical change from a stress on power relations to one stressing solidarity through pronomial address, Samoan has evolved both distinctions simultaneously but along separate linguistic tracks.

Further Linguistic Indices of Social Context

While most of the socio-linguistic research on Samoa has heretofore concentrated on speech registers, a new line of investigation has been undertaken recently by Ochs (Ochs 1982, in press; Ochs and Scheiffelin in press) in which aspects of syntax and word order have been shown to vary with social distance. Specifically Ochs has observed the following lingusitic features associated with "formal" as opposed to "intimate" Samoan discourse:

(1) Use of the "ergative" case marker e. Thus Sa fai E le tamāloa le lauga (The man made the speech).

(2) Use of possessive case markers o or a "of" to mark possession rather than the possessive pronouns. Thus To LA'U peni (my pen) becomes 'o le peni A a'u (the pen of me). Note here the progressive "distancing" of the relation between subject and object in the two forms.

(3) The use of a suffix of the kind (Consonant)IA (ia, gia, lia, mia, -a etc.) to certain classes of verbs (Ochs in press: 22-3; Chung 1978:91). Thus

1. 'Ou te ALOFA pea 'iate 'oe. (I still love you) [Intimate]

1a. 'Ua ALOFAGIA le Atua 'iate 'oe. (God loves you) [Formal]

2. Na 'ou FAI le umu (I made the oven)

2a. Po 'o ai na FAIA 'oe (Who made you?)

(4) The use of formal tense/aspect markings rather than their omission or use in a reduced form.

1. Pe alu 'oe? (Are you going?) [No tense/aspect marker]

1a. 'Ā 'e alu? (Are you going?) [Abbreviated aspect/tense marker]

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1b. O le 'ā 'e alu? (Are you going?) [Tense/aspect marker]

(5) The use of VSO (Verb-Subject-Object) word order as opposed to the more intimate VOS word order. This formal word order, moreover, was observed by Ochs (in press: 33-35) to be far more characteristic of male than female speech.

Thus:

1. 'Ua 'ai le fasipovi e le tama. The boy ate the piece of beef.
(V) (O) (S) Intimate/Female

1a. 'Ua 'ai e le tama le fasipovi. The boy ate the piece of beef.
(V) (S) (O) Formal/Male

In addition to these features noted by Ochs to vary with social distance, we add several others:

(6) The use of progressively indirect forms of reference or address ranging from Pronoun to Polite Dual Pronoun to Title.

Thus:

1. Po 'o fea le mea "e te alu 'iai? (Where are you going?)

1a. Po 'o fea le mea LUA te susū 'iai? (Where are you two going)

1b. Po 'o fea le mea e susu 'iai LAU SUSUGA? (Where is SIR going)

The use of the polite dual "you" in reference to a single person, illustrated in example 1, above, is rare, and is similar to the "royal we" of European kings. Note in examples 1a and 1b the use of the polite lexical item susū for "go" replacing the common alu.

(7) In formal discourse, questions are marked by the expanded form of the interogative marker Po 'o, which may be abbreviated or let out in intimate discourse. Thus:

1. 'O ai lou igoa? (What is your name?)

1b. PO 'o ai lou suafa? (What is your name?)

In 1a. the expansion of the question marker is accompanied by the appropriate replacement of the common igoa (name) with the polite suafa. With acute vowels in the following word, the proper question marker is Pe rather than po. Thus

1. 'E tu alu? (Are you going?)

1a. PE 'e te alu?

These syntactic forms which distinguish formal from intimate discourse may mark distinctions of power or of solidarity. It is not yet clear how these linguistic features map onto the power/solidarity distinction outlined above in relation to lexical and phonological registers.

The Place of English Language in Modern Samoa

The London Missionary Society saw to it that English would be for Samoans an elite language. From 1830, when John Williams arrived in Sava'i in Western Samoa, bringing a message from the white man's Atua (God), Samoans have welcomed Christian missionaries of numerous sects. While the Catholic mission was of French origin, the others were English and the term fa'a Palagi (the European way/language) became synonmous with English. The only rival for a pre-eminent foreign tongue in Samoa was German, which was the official government language of Western Samoa during the German colonial period (1900-1914).

Today, in both Samoas, knowledge of English is a mark of prestige and of education. While Samoan remains the language of the household and of intimate social relations for the vast majority of Samoans, English words and phrases often are sprinkled throughout Samoan conversations, either in Samoanized pronounciation or without modification. Furthermore, among those with a substantial Western education, conversations often alternate between English and Samoan or blend the two into a hybred form.

For part-Samoans whose first language was English, and for Samoans with extensive overseas residence and/or education in the United States or New Zealand, discourse is fully bilingual. English and Samoan are relegated to distinct contexts. In our experience English seems to be associated with the following contexts?

(a) Professional contexts like business, government offices or school.

(b) Privileged communication among elites (in the Westernized sense of elite).

(c) Certain topics of conversation more appropriately discussed in English. By contrast, Samoan language use is associated with:

  (a) Discourse between Westernized elites and non-elites.

  (b) Discourse between Westernized elites and Samoan elites (Chiefs).

  (c) Discourse within intimate/familial situations.

  (d) Discourse among Westernized elite Samoans when Europeans are present, and a distinction is desired between Samoans and non-Samoans.

  (e) Distinctively Samoan topics of conversation.

Clearly, the use of English in Samoan discourse is complex. In certain situations, English seems to be an index of power relations, Yet in others, the issue is one of solidarity as discussed above. Indeed, we have noted already that English seems to represent a continuation of the /k/-/t/ spectrum of solidarity to its most formal pole. It marks social distance and "outsider" status with all their attendant ambiguities and ambivalences for Samoans.

Elite Communication and Decision-making

The classic account of elite communication in Samoa was done by Keesing and Keesing (1956). More recent and more detailed analysis has been done by Durani (1981a, 1981b) focusing on the fono as a distinct Samoan speech event. For our purposes, it is useful to summarize a few of the more important general characteristics of elite decision-making and communication in Samoa.

(1) Decisions are promulgated and formulated by elites, but only as an expression of a consensus based on careful judgment (fa'autaga) by the elites of the diverse opinions expressed by assembled parties. While overtly autocratic, Samoan decision-making has distinct democratic or at least representational qualities.

(2) In traditional gatherings of elites, formal discussions are involved with matters of form (etiquette) to a degree quite baffling and annoying to most Euro-American observers. Oratorical conventions are highly developed in Samoa and include matters of precedence in seating, speaking order, inclusion and exclusion from discussions, differential modes of address, etc. Debates and discussions are surrounded by sometimes elaborate ritual including presentations of kava roots, formal debates by orators over the kava, kava service and drinking, recitation of formal greetings associated with titles and villages and descent groups and the actual conventions of speech-making. Just as fonos normally embed spontaneous discussion in layers of ritualized oratory, actual speeches tend to wrap personal opinions in layers of elaborate formality and deference to the dignities of those present at the convocation.

(3) Voices (opinions) are weighted at meetings, and those with the heaviest opinions tend to speak last. Those of lower rank seem to speak more freely early on in deliberations. Once all views have been aired, however, elites tend to render decisions without anything like an explicit vote. Decisions are almost always expressed as a group decision rather than a statistical outcome of a vote. At times consensus becomes impossible and genuine fights erupt. Samoans have elaborate conventions for containing the divisive potentials of arguments, though Samoan political discourse is almost always rife with potential conflict, sometimes of a serious sort. Often it is less the substance of an issue that is at stake than the prestige and dignity of one or another faction.

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Conflict is checked either by oratorical forms masking division under a formal show of unity, or by simply tabling a discussion for another time. Decisions are sometimes quite long in coming. This kind of decision-making process, operating among people who have continuing and multiplex relations with another, often sacrifices efficiency for interpersonal harmoney.

As pointed out by the Keesings (1956) elite communications tend to be phrased in the most general and encompassing terms, the details being left to those of lower rank to iron out. This characteristic of elite discourse is consistent with their encompassing status, embodying as they do the unit of the assembly, just as the assembly embodies the unity of the policy. Sometimes vagueness is employed as a self-conscious political strategy for unifying a political group.

(4) It is our impression that, within certain limits, the degree of seriousness and potential divisiveness surrounding a discussion is indexed by the elaborateness of ritualized discourse. Potential disagreement is buffered by (a) indirection of discourse; (b) volume of discourse and (c) conventionality or ritualization of expression. When the subject matter is either relatively unproblematical or of utmost urgency, oratorical conventions may yield to relatively direct discussion and expression.

(5) While great weight is given to ascribed statuses (family, titles, "blood") in determining the weighting of opinions in elite discourse, these weightings are actually open to negotiation. Talent and ability are regarded in Samoa, yet only once proper deference to established authority has been shown. The well-educated and able are encouraged to become leaders, but only by certifying their abilities and status through traditional political means, by "serving" their families and chief and taking on the obligations and powers of matai ship. Moreover, the kava ceremony which publicly marks the weighting of voices for any occasion is over time flexible enough to permit the gradual emergence of fresh talent in a traditional political setting. It is this combination of conservatism and pragmatic flexibility that gives the "traditional" Samoan political system its power and durability.

Non-verbal Communication

No ethnography of communication would be complete without considering non-verbal communication. The topic is, of course, suitable for a volume by itself. We will only highlight a few areas of Samoan non-verbal communication that are most likely to be relevant for Samoans entering the American workplace.

- Characteristically, rank and status considerations figure importantly in non-verbal signing. Especially important is body posture, the most general and dramatic way that Samoans present themselves in public. Samoans

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are quite conscious of adjusting posture to changing circumstances. Little children are taught while young to "contain" themselves in formal settings in a conventional fatai sitting posture, with back straight, legs properly tucked in. This "centering" of the body is an expression of the tendency to associate centers with dignity and control, and peripheries (limbs in this case) with personal expressiveness and potential disorder. Proper sitting posture is one way that people teu (decorate/contain/clean-up/hold in) themselves. The feet and head are significant focal areas of potential anxiety. Pointing one's feet at another person is insulting, and in formal contexts feet must be tucked under one. Height is also marked with status considerations. One never keeps one's head higher than a person of higher rank. Guests walking into a room quickly sit down and tuck in their legs. Passing in front of another person requires that one stoop and excuse one's self (tulou). This concern is paralleled by one that discourages someone from building a house in front of a chief's residence. Considerations of height and frontness are important dimensions of postural politics.

When passing someone on a street, it is impolite not to acknowledge that person's presence. This might consist of a simple greeting (actually a farewell) or simply a signal by raising one's eyebrows and lifting one's chin briefly. Between those of equal rank or in intimate contexts, eye contact is common among Samoans. However, in formal situations or to rank-superiors, Samoans will avoid eye contact, and keep their eyes either lowered or otherwise averted. In formal meetings, participants keep a studied distance from each other's glances, usually looking blankly into space, or even with eyes rolled up slightly in their sockets. These postures are conventional and do not indicate lack of interest.

Samoans have distinct notions of personal distance from Europeans. When rank or status considerations are at issue, Samoans keep a stiff bearing and personal distance from the ranking individual. Brothers and sisters will avoid close personal and especially physical intimacies such as touching or embracing. Indeed public intimacy between men and women--including spouses--is considered improper and is reserved for private moments. These restrictions do not apply with full force to the very young or elderly.

On the other hand, physical intimacies, such as hand-holding, are common in Samoa between people of the same sex, especially between the young. It is not in any way considered deviant or improper, nor is such contact associated with sexual relations in any way. Samoans enjoy physical intimacy, and spend much of their lives in close contact with large numbers of people. Being along for too long is considered unhealthy and unpleasant. Sleeping patterns encourage much co-sleeping, between parents and infants, and then later between same-sex siblings.

Personal Names and Address in Samoan

Samoan naming practices and norms of address are quite different from their Anglo-American equivalents and present several areas of potential confusion for communication between Samoans and Anglo-Americans. There is no precise equivalent to a "last name" for Samoans, though Samoan families

have adapted traditional naming forms to American norms. Instead, Samoans distinguish between personal names (igoa taulele'a) which are much like our "first names" in that they distinguish individuals and are generally a more intimate form of address, and titles (suafa matai) which are "chiefly names" under the control of descent groups and bestowed upon individuals in formal ceremony when they are elected to the status of chief (matai). While there is no objective distinction between the forms of personal names and titles (indeed titles generally originate as personal names of distinguished figures which gradually become immortalized and emerge as titles) Samoans can recognize many of the thousands of titles and distinguish them from personal names. Until and unless an individual (male or female) becomes a matai, he/she is normally referred to by personal name, though sometimes a person may be addressed by his father's title in appropriate contexts. When it is necessary to specify further a person's identify, father's name or title may be appended to the first name much like our "family names." When a person receives a title, however, it is normal to address that person by title, with one's own personal name used as a "last name."

A number of factors make Samoan naming particularly complex and potentially confusing in a cross-cultural setting. A person or his father may hold several titles simultaneously and be addressed by any or all of them in different combination. Samoans tend to switch names rather fluidly as context requires, moving from personal name to title as contexts change from intimate to formal, and changing title address as different social relationships are signalled. For these reaons, Samoans may seem to have an abundance of names and identities, and may be difficult to locate on any bureaucratic listings of persons. Some considerable standardization of naming has taken place in overseas settings, and titles or patronyms have been used more like American family names. Nonetheless, traditional naming practices still operate, much to the confusion and frustration of non-Samoan colleagues or associates.

Summary: Principles of Samoan Communication

(1) Communication is structured by considerations of rank and status. Rank relations are graded, ambiguous and inherently unstable. Status relations, especially complementary linked statuses are categorical and more stable.

(2) Social interactions are constrained by considerations of formality and intimacy. This general distinction includes two important dimensions: an axis of power relations (rank/authority) and an axis of solidarity (I/thou vs. I/it relations). Phonological registers encode distinctions of solidarity; lexical registers encode distinctions of power.

(3) English language represents for Samoans the extreme pole of distance on the solidarity scale. There is ambivalence surrounding English usage in traditional Samoa since it suggests both good education and loss of connection with the fa'a Samoa (Samoan way).

(4) Decision-making embeds the substance of discussions in elaborate ritualized etiquette. Except for the most serious and urgent

matters, the greater the seriousness of a problem, the greater the ritualization surrounding its discussion.

(5) Elites form and express group decisions by formulating acceptable versions of group compromises or consensus. Group harmony outweighs considerations of efficiency in decision-making.

(6) Non-verbal communication in Samoa expresses rank, status and context variables. Height, frontness and distance are important aspects of communication. Body posture is an index of formality.

(7) Names in Samoan usage are subtle indices of both formality and of particular social context. Changes in address signify context shifts and in the relevant aspect of personal identity being activated.

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III

SAMOAN CONCEPTIONS OF WORK

No consideration of communication in the American workplace for Samoan immigrants would be complete without explicitly addressing the concept of "work" itself as a cultural domain. Each culture evolves a distinct definition of what constitutes "work", what distinguishing concepts are involved in relation to "work" ("play" or "fun" or "relaxation" for Anglo-Americans) and how the division of labor is culturally organized. Samoan conceptions of work take for granted a number of important assumptions that need to be made explicitly because they come into play every time a Samoan worker enters the American workplace.

The Samoan word for "work" is galue, a word that may be related to the term lue meaning to sway, move, or rock. This connection would establish the linkage between Samoan notions of work and physical movement. Galuega, the nominalized form of the verb, seems to suggest manual labor. In modern Samoa, people employed in non-manual labor are still said to "work" (faigaluega). On the other hand, researchers or clerical workers are sometimes said by Samoans to "sit" (nofonofo) and "write" (tusitusi) as opposed to working (galulue). In this sense general employment (faigaluega) includes more sedentary occupations as distinct from the generic verb galue which implies physical activity and movement.

This association of work with physical labor is part of a Samoan ideology of activities. We have already seen how Samoans associate important and dignified statuses with immobility. The term nofonofo (sitting) used to describe the work of a teacher or anthropologist associates these statuses with the "Feminine" statuses of taupou (princess, virgin) sometimes called the taupou fa'anofonofo (sitting princess) and with the equally "Feminine" (as opposed to actually female) status of ali'i. Feminine here refers to a genteel and elegant status associated prototypically with girls, though a potential side of all humans.

Such static qualities are assigned to institutions representing the noblest and most elevated aspects of Samoan culture. The ali'i "sits" while his orator "moves about" (gaiolol) for him. The "masculine domain (as opposed to male) is associated with crude energy, transformative power, and movement. Brothers perform chores for their sisters. The 'aumaga (young men's organization) is known as the "strength of the village" (o' le malosi o le nu'u). The wild clowning dancer ('aiuli) who cavorts wildly at the periphery of the dance floor, graces the elegant and nearly immobile figure of the siva dancer at the dance floor's center. Movement, activity, crude transformative power take on their meaning and take their proper place only as the complement of their static and dignified opposite.

These abstract categories inform Samoan evaluations of tasks.. Work roles tend to be categorized as embodying either productive energy or

dignified form. It has been the practice in enthographies of Samoa to describe the division of labor as between males and females (Shore 1977, 1982; Schoeffel 1979; Holmes 1974). The chart below reproduces Shore's rendering of this sexual division of labor (Shore 1982):

Samoan Sexual Division of Labor

Men's Work	Women's Work
Doing plantation work	Working on projects focused in village center
Planting taro and other root crops	Weeding plantations
Deep-sea trolling	Collecting shellfish in lagoon
Hunting wild pig and pigeon (rare today)	Weaving, sewing (mats, blinds, clothes)
Preparing of heavy starch food staples in ground oven	Preparing of "good" high proteins, canned foods, European foods cooked within main house
House building	Cleaning of house and compound
Canoe building	Tending to village sanitation
Tattooing	Taking care of children
Participating in village and intervillage political affairs	Hosting village guests

An inspection of Samoan concepts of division of labor, however, indicates that the underlying categorization does not follow a neat male/female division, but rather suggests a more abstract Masculine/Feminine distinction as discussed above. This dichotomy opposed an active and a static activity, defined as complementary dyads. Thus the traditional "female" category actually conflates the Feminine role of "sister" (a ceremonial, decorous and static position) with that of "wife" which is actually a kind of Masculine role (in contrast to husband's sister) associated with active, transformative energy. Similarly biological males may take on the "Feminine" role of ali'i or the "Masculine" roles of orator or brother. Samoans thus allocate work roles not so much by person-types (men or women) as by role-types, any one individual possessing a number of different (and at times opposing) statuses, activated in different contexts.

Thus, if "men's work" includes heavy labor like clearing gardens, building houses and preparing heavy foods in the earth oven, then "men" here are understood to include brothers (as opposed to sisters), untitled youth (taulele'a) (as opposed to chiefs) and son's (in opposition to fathers), but not such "males" as ali'i, pastors, Peace Corps Volunteers, guests, teachers, etc. These latter statuses are, as we have noted, conceptually "Feminine."

This fluidity of work roles in relation to persons may account for some of the flexibility in observed male/female work patterns. While males are somewhat reluctant to take on women's work (Shore 1981:209), Schoeffel (1979) has described the relative permeability of boundaries between men's and women's labor.

Most traditionally "male" vocations are technically open to women, and modern Samoa has many capable women in positions of political leadership in traditionally male domains. The participation of men in women's domains is, we argue, more problematical for Samoans, and would normally be tolerated only for limited time-periods and under unusual circumstances. Samoan women sometimes comment with a twinkle in their eyes on this asymmetry, noting that women can do men's work, but men may not do women's work. The reasons for this asymmetry are complicated and only partially clear (Shore 1981). Schoeffel (1979) has noted the fragility of male identity in Samoa, where identifications of men with sisters and mothers are strong and lead to compensatory male bravado as well as a high incidence of transvestitism. Men in Samoa are certainly sensitive to accusations of effeminacy (fa'afafine) a frequent taunt that is usually quick to stem any tendency toward effeminate behavior from young men. However, the transvestite role is an acceptable, if somewhat degraded role for men who cannot or choose not to conform to standards of male behavior. While control of reproductive sexuality seems to be a charged issue for females in Samoa, control over gender distinctions is decidedly a man's issue (Shore 1981). A kind of double double standard operates in Samoa.

Traditional Authority Patterns in Work

Children in Samoa learn early the values of obedience (usita'i) to authority figures. Samoans strongly value interdependence and socialize children for dependency rather than autonomy in work. Labor is generally organized hierarchically with a leader or expert acting as pule (boss). Skills are acquired primarily through imitation and participation rather than through explicit and abstract instruction (Mead 1928). Orders are passed downward from superiors, sometimes through intermediaries such as messengers or chiefs or elder siblings or senior "boys" in a work group (Ochs and Scheiffelin in press). The fruits of one's labor, whether in the form of agricultural produce, fine mats or wages in the workplace, are placed at the disposal of those in authority such as chiefs or household heads.

The explicit emphasis is on cooperation and service (tautau) to one's group or chief rather than upon individual advancement. On the other hand, traditional Samoan values reward such service with political power and reflected glory from those served. Part of one's harvest or wages may often be retained for private use.

This stress on authority, obedience to those in charge and dependency as opposed to autonomy means that Samoans are generally depending on clear-cut authority for effective work conditions. The absence of clear and consistent authority frequently suggests for Samoans that one is "free" (sa'oloto), and jobs do not get done. In a traditional village in Samoa, when the chief's police patrol suspends their surveillance of a curfew, that curfew is often understood to be no longer operative. The law and its enforcement define one another.

Samoans generally enjoy working in well-organized groups and pride in group undertakings as well as competition with rival groups are easily

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nurtured. Samoan men pride themselves on their physical prowess and strength and will often work long, hard hours with little complaint, so long as morale is kept high. They do, however, possess a keen sense of justice and equity in treatment, and will respond to misuse of power with a sullen passive-resistance that sometimes appears as extreme politeness and formality, barely masking hostility. Samoans go to great lengths to teu le va (take care of the social relations) in working relationships with frequent support from positive reinforcement, ranging from verbal encouragements to breaks for shared meals. In Samoa food is a powerful symbol of community and payment for work in food is common.

While Samoans can be deferential to authority on the job, they have the ability to contextualize relationships, such that it is possible for a worker and his boss to become friends "after hours." The disjunction between formal working relations and informal socializing that confuses such relations in the United States is relatively unproblematical for Samoans.

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IV

CONCLUSIONS

Consequences of Limited Communicative Competence in the American Workplace for American Workers

In 1977, the three most frequently mentioned problems of the Samoan community in the South Bay area of Southern California were education, employment and language barriers (Shu and Satele 1977). Six years later, a survey of the Compton, California Samoan community (Samoan Organization of America, 1983) found the same high rate of unemployment and limited English competence. Clearly, weak communication skills in English are a major factor contributing to Samoans' limited access to social services and to educational and employment opportunities in the larger community. The following passages from a variety of sources document this problem.

> Inability to write and speak English adequately is a main reason for the high unemployment and underemployment among Samoan immigrants...Some Samoans are skilled carpenters, builders and fishermen. Yet, because they speak only the Samoan language, they are doing unskilled or semi-skilled labor as janitors, dishwashers, night watchmen, gardeners and farm or factory workers (Chen 1973:43).

> Poor language skills deter Samoans from seeking and receiving adequate health [sic] and neglect of health often leads to disruption or loss of employment and income. Low income, or loss of income coupled with a large family frequently necessitates dependence upon welfare assistance (Luce 1979:334).

> When the Samoan extended family migrates to the mainland, the chief cannot solve his people's problems because now he is not aware of the services and resources in the new community, not able to utilize them because of the language barrier (Luce 1979:352).

> Because the Islander is not articulate in English, he is unable to complain appropriately about the job or make demands for wages he believes commensurate with his skills (Munoz 1974:20).

The close-knit nature of U.S. Samoan communities can therefore be seen not only as a result of the high value placed on maintaining Samoan culture and values, but also as a response to the insecurity of Samoans within the larger society as a result of their marginal participation in education and employment. This situation creates a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy: maintenance of close ties to the local Samoan community often requires individual members to fulfill extensive social responsibilities (e.g., attendance at weddings, funerals and traditional Samoan events involving the individual's extended family) which may make

it more difficult for them to function according to Anglo norms within the Anglo community; this in turn impacts the ability of immigrant Samoans to learn English and to participate fully in the larger society. Seui (1983) documents the problems for Samoan students in Hawaii in meeting the expectations of the Samoan community as well as those of school authorities. This conflict carries over into the employment situation where the high value placed on human relations within the Samoan community may be at odds with the expectations of employers concerning punctuality and consistent attendance on the job (Munoz 1974).

The limited proficiency of migrant Samoans in reading and writing English, as well as an unfamiliarity with Western expectations and values associated with the workplace, hamper the ability of Samoan job seekers to write resumes, complete job applicatons and succeed in an interview situation. In an employment and career workshop for high school students organized by the National Island Women Association, Samoan students reported a need for better communication skills in English and in particular a need for assertiveness training to help them succeed in interviews (Sa'ili Solomona, personal communication). Students discussed problems in moving from the traditional Samoan values of their home environment which emphasize submissiveness of young people in the presence of older adults and a focus on cooperative effort to the values of the Western labor market, in which success depends upon an individual's ability to focus attention on his or her own personal achievements.

All of these factors related to English competence, (i) limited proficiency in reading and writing, (ii) conflicting values between the home and school/workplace and (iii) unfamiliarity with Anglo ways of speaking, contribute to the high rate of unemployment and the underrepresentation of Samoans in white collar and supervisory positions.

In addition to these general conclusions it is possible to make a number of specific predictions and suggestions about the adaptation of Samoan workers in the American workplace based on the analyses in the preceding sections of this paper.

(1) Samoan workers are likely to find confusing, at least initially, the structure of authority in the American workplace. Where authority is administered casually or with a democratic style, Samoans are likely to infer its absence. Since relationships for Samoans can be highly contextualized with no sense of inconsistency, there is no problem with the boss being rather "chummy" with workers after hours, but within context authority relations are expected to be clear and consistent.

(2) On the other hand, Samoans traditionally live in a world where they understand the larger context within which orders are given, and workers are not alienated from the broader contexts in which their work finds its use. They may therefore find arbitrary orders or tasks, disconnected from a knowledge of the decision-making process or the common goals of the enterprise, strange and alientating.

(3) For Samoans with traditional upbringing, the relative casualness and openness of male-female relations within the workplace may, at least initially, be a source of some confusion and embarrassment. There are many possibilities for a Samoan man to misunderstand the intentions of a friendly female co-worker, and read a sexual invitation where none was intended. A number of "rape" cases in the United States involving Samoan men probably involve such misunderstandings. In Samoa, only "loose" women would engage in public flirtations with a man.

(4) Samoans are apt to evince ambivalence about being placed in positions of authority over other Samoans, an ambivalance connected with that about speaking English in Samoa. Samoans are actually encouraged to be quite ambitious and such chances for personal and familial advancement are probably quite tempting. On the other hand, the fear of being considered pretentious (fia sili) or accused of aping the European (fia Palagi) are powerful controls for Samoans on economic ambition. Samoans are sensitive to peer pressure, and employers should be sensitive to their considerations by discussing with potential managers their own ambivalances and the repercussions for social relations in the workplace.

(5) Samoans are likely to be extremely sensitive to nuances of social relations that Americans may not pick up. Samoans are likely to be quite careful especially at first, to nourish good personal relationships on the job, and they are equally sensitive to perceived slights to their dignity. Employers should see this sensitivity as a virtue and be aware of its implications for worker relations.

(6) Samoan men are apt to stick closely to "men's work" while Samoan women are apt to be more flexible in their choice of jobs, taking on tasks that are often assigned to men if the need or opportunity should arise.

(7) A range of problems is linked to poor command over English in the workplace, especially the rapid and idiomatic English one would expect in such a setting. Employers and fellow workers are all too often insensitive to how difficult it is to get along in a situation where only only partially understands what is being said.

Employers should, for instance, never assume that a complex order has been correctly understood the first time. Samoans will often aim to please by appearing as if they understood, when in fact they had not. There are polite responses, and there are truthful ones. Follow-up questions or requests for paraphrases are effective ways of checking for compensation. Often the problem may have to do with an English idiom or an ironic intonation pattern that was not grasped correctly by the Samoan worker (Productivity Centre, Auckland 1977:3).

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Several aspects of English sentence structure are likely sources of confusion. Negative questions, double negatives and negative question tags tend to be interpreted by Samoans precisely the opposite from American expectations. "You won't be coming tomorrow, will you?" will evoke a response of "Yes" from a Samoan who does not plan to work the next day, and "No" from a worker who does. The Samoan response is keyed directly to the "won't" rather than to the "will you." In general, Samoans will respond to the negative term while Americans will respond to the positive question tag. Such confusions are potentially serious in the workplace.

Less serious but equally puzzling are confusions over pronoun usage. When a Samoan says "We're going to lunch with Tom," he may well mean that only he and Tom are lunching together, and not that the addressee is invited. It is easy to imagine some quite confusing situations that might arise from such direct translations from Samoan into English.

(8) Samoan personal naming is quite different from its American counterpart (Shore 1982). Samoan names include a personal name and a family title or one's father's name. To call someone by a title alone is a mark of respect. Samoan has no equivalent for "Mr." or "Mrs." The closest equivalent in American names to the Samoan title is the surname. Samoans may thus unintentionally violate American norms of personal address (Brown and Ford 1962) by referring to or addressing a co-worker or boss by their surname alone (Smith or Jones or whatever). They intend only respect but convey its opposite. The fact that workers may, among themselves, refer to a boss by his last name without Mr. may lend false support to the Samoan assumption that such naming practices are respectful.

(9) Samoans are used to hands-on education, particularly those with little formal schooling. They might well find abstract "blackboard" explanations of how to operate machinery or carry out work procedures an alien way of learning. They might be very keen on apprenticeship type programs. On the other hand, there is no reason why they could not adapt in time to classroom training techniques.

(10) Samoans in America will be looking for cues about the relative formality and informality of social contexts and social relations. In Samoa, such cues are commonly "built-into" the social setting in a clear way. Certain situations automatically suggest formality and constraint. Simply using English, for many Samoans, makes them shy and suggests distance rather than intimacy, at least until they feel more at home in the workplace. Initial encounters between Samoan workers and bosses are likely to provoke a formal and deferential demeanor from Samoans, who may leave a false impression of passivity and lack of drive. Such confusions have been reported for Polynesian workers in New Zealand (Productivity Center, Auckland 1977:4-5).

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